

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 OIC-02 CU-02 USIE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 EB-07

COME-00 SIL-01 LAB-04 AF-06 /108 W

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O R 211255Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3952

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 305

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

ZEN AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPRE

USCINCEUR

UNDOCOSOUTH

CINCLANT

USLO SACLANT NORFORLK VA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM EGEN EEWG SGEN

1. SUMMARY: AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF BREZHNEV'S LETTER TO
WESTERN LEADERS PROPOSING THAT STAGE III BE CONVENED ON
JULY 22, THE SWEDISH DEL USED THIS WEEK'S MEETING
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OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE FACT

THAT SOME DECISION ON TIMING WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN NEXT WEEK
IF STAGE III IS TO BE HELD IN JULY. THIS FOCUSED CONFERENCE
THINKING ON THE REMAINING ESSENTIAL ISSUES WHICH WILL HAVE TO
BE RESOLVED BEFORE A DECISION ON TIMING CAN BE ACCEPTED.
FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THE NEUTRALS THE FIRST
AMONG THESE WAS CLEARLY CBMS, WHERE THE PARAMETERS FOR
A MANEUVER CBM ARE STILL NOT AGREED. FOR SOME WESTERN
ALLIES, INCLUDING THE US, AGREEMENT ON A QUADRIPARTITE
RIGHTS (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE IS ALSO A PREREQUISITE FOR ACCEPTANCE
OF A DATE, AND FOR THE NEUTRALS AND ROMANIA A SOLUTION
TO THE CENTRAL POLITICAL ISSUE OF FOLLOW-UP IS EquALLY
IMPORTANT. WHILE A FEW DELEGATIONS (E.G. YUGOSLAVIA,
ROMANIA, MALTA, TURKEY) HAVE ADDITIONAL SPECIAL INTERESTS
WHICH MAY CAUSE PROBLEMS EVEN AFTER A DATE IS SET, THE
PRINCIPLE EFFORTS THIS WEEK CONCENTRATED ON THESE AREAS.
THE NEUTRALS TABLED A COMPROMISE PACKAGE FOR MANEUVER
PARAMETERS; A REVISED QRR SAVING CLAUSE WAS AGREED FOR
TABLING EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND AN INFORMAL GROUP WAS
CREATED TO HAMMER OUT A COMPROMISE ON FOLLOW-UP. IF
WORK ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE SUBJECTS CAN BE COM-
PLETED IN TIME, A DECISION ON A STAGE III DATE COULD
BE TAKEN ON JUNE 26, OR JUNE 30. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--PRINCIPLES
SUBCOMMITTEE MADE LITTLE PROGRESS ON DRAFTING OF A
PREAMBLE TO THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AS FRENCH AND
YUGOSLAVS ATTEMPTED TO INTRODUCE CONTROVERSIAL CONCEPTS
INTO TEXT. INFORMAL MEETINGS ORGANIZED BY FINNS ALSO
FOUNDED AS SOME WESTERN DELEGATES OBJECTED TO PRESSURE
TACTICS BY THE FINNS AND TENDENCY OF YUGOSLAVS TO
MONOPOLIZE THE MEETINGS. CONCEPT OF A MAXI-PREAMBLE
COVERING ALL BASKET I SUBJECTS NOW SEEMS GENERALLY
ACCEPTED. MEANWHILE, IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS OF QUADRIPARTITE
RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) SAVING
CLAUSE, FRENCH AGREED TO DROP WORD "RESPONSIBILITIES"
AND ITS TROUBLESOME QUALIFYING PHRASE FROM THE QRR
TEXT AND US, UK, AND FRENCH REPS PRESENTED AMENDED
TEXT TO SOVIETS FRIDAY EVENING. SOVIETS ARE EXPECTED
TO ACCEPT IT. FRENCH PLAN TO TABLE NEW QRR TEXT IN
PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE ON MONDAY. FRG HOPES TO HAVE
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RESOLVED GERMAN TRANSLATION PROBLEM OF PEACEFUL CHANGE
OF FRONTIERS TEXT WITH GDR BY MONDAY SO AS TO BE ABLE
TO PRESS FOR SIMULTANEOUS REGISTRATION OF THAT TEXT.
IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION FRG, US AND
UK RAISED OBJECTIONS TO PREAMBULAR TEXT WORKED OUT BY
ROMANIANS WITH SOVIETS FOR ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE
PROPOSAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT LANGUAGE IMPLIED AGREEMENT
AND CONFERRED TOO HIGH A STATUS ON ROMANIAN PROPOSAL.

AT WEEK'S END, DRAFTING SOLUTION APPEARED POSSIBLE.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--UK DEL CHIEF, ACTING AS NATO SPOKESMAN, TOLD SOVIETS HE COULD NO LONGER ASSURE THEM THAT ALL ALLIES WOULD IN THE END ACCEPT THE UK "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TEXT, AND ARGUED FOR PARAMETERS OF 300 KMS., 21 DAYS AND 20-22,000 TROOPS "OR PERHAPS A LITTLE BIT MORE". AT BEGINNING OF WEEK NEUTRALS WERE STILL HOLDING BACK THEIR PROPOSED COMPROMISE PACKAGE, BECAUSE OF A LINGERING CONCERN THAT THEY MIGHT BE EM-BARRASSED BY AN EAST-WEST DEAL ON TERMS MORE FAVORABLE TO SOVIETS. BY MID-WEEK, HOWEVER, THEY HAD BEEN SUFFICNETLY REASSURED THAT NO SUCH DEAL WOULD BE STRUCK, AND DESPITE CONTINUING DEMURRERS FROM THE SOVIETS THEY DECIDED TO PROPOSE FORMALLY THEIR PACKAGE FIGURES OF 300 KMS., 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS IN THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUNE 20. SOVIETS CRITICIZED NEUTRAL PACKAGE AS TOO MUCH, AND ALLIED REPS (UK,CANADA, AND NOWAY) CRITICIZED IT IN EQUAL MEASURE AS TOO LITTLE. IN SUBSEQUENT FOUR-POWER MEETING EVENING OF JUNE 20, SOVIETS HINTED THEY COULD MOVE FURTHER ON PARAMETERS IF ALLIES ACCEPTED THEIR AMENDMENTS TO UK "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TEXT. UK WILL CONSULT ALLIES ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY ON JUNE 23. IN ADDITION TO PACKAGE PROPOSAL FOR PARAMETERS, NEUTRALS IN JUNE 20 MEETING ALSO INTRODUCED THEIR DRAFT FOR PARTIAL TEXT OF THE MANEUVER CBM. THIS DRAFT IS TROUBLE-SOME FOR US BECAUSE IT PROVIES FOR A SEPARATE THRESHOLD FOR INDEPENDENT AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE MANEUVERS. MOST NATO ALLIES COULD ACCEPT THIS FEATURE, BUT FRANCE IS OPPOSED, AS ARE SOVIETS, AND IDEA IS UNLIKELY TO SURVIVE. ALLIES ARE NOW CONSIDERING AS AN ALTERNATIVE THE TURKISH IDEA OF A SUBTHRESHOLD FOR COMINED MAN-EUVERS ONLY, CALLING FOR NOTIFICATION WHEN THE AMPHIBIOUS

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ELEMENTS EXCEED A CERTAIN NUMBER OF TROOPS. THE AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE ISSUE, THE MILITARY MOVEMENTS ISSUE, AND A NUMBER OF LESS CENTRAL CBM ISSUES ARE BROUGHT INTO FOCUS IN THE NEW UK DRAFT FOR THE FINAL CBM DOCUMENTS, WHICH ALLIES DISCUSSED IN FAILY CAUCUS SESSIONS THIS WEEK. ALLIES HAVE NOW CABLED A REVISED DRAFT TO CAPITALS FOR INSTRUCTIONS, AND WILL ATTEMPT TO REACH A FULL CONSENSUS ON TEXT IN WEEK OF JUNE 23. UK NOW HOPES TO PRESENT THIS DRAFT TO SOVIETS AS BASIS FOR PACKAGE DEAL ON ALL REMAINING CBM ISSUES BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK.

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

UNDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

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4. ECONOMICS--FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF
PARAGRAPH ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FOR BASKET II PREAMBLE.
LANGUAGE CONCERNING "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE" AND
SPECIAL ATTENTION TO LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES NOW SEEMS
AGREED, BUT NO SOLUTION HAS YET BEEN FOUND FOR THE SECTION
DEALING WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RESOLUTIONS ON DEVELOP-
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MENT. "RECIPROCITY" WAS AGAIN DISCUSSED IN INFORMAL MEETINGS, BUT WITHOUT ANY PROGRESS; MFN WILL PROBABLY BE TAKEN UP IN INFORMAL MEETINGS NEXT WEEK. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES MADE PROGRESS ON SAFEGUARDS AND AGREEMENT ON A TEXT SATISFACTORY TO US NOW SEEMS IN SIGHT. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS MOVED CLOSER TO AGREEMENT ON PARA WHICH WOULD SAFEGUARD US INTERESTS IN MIGRANT LABOR TEXT.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEES WERE STILL ENGAGED IN CLEAN UP OPERATIONS, AND REACHED INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON ROMANIAN CONSULAR ASSISTANCE PROPOSAL AND VATICAN TEXT ON RELIGIOUS TRAVEL AND EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION. THIS LEFT UK OBJECTION TO COMPROMISE TEXT ON BROADCASTING AND ROMANIAN OBJECTION TO TEXT ON NO EXPULSION FOR JOURNALISTS AS ONLY REMAINING OBSTACLES TO FINAL COMPLETION OF WORK IN THESE TWO SUBJECT AREAS. SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION CONTINUED TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS AND THERE IS GROWING BELIEF THAT WORK IN THESE GROUPS ALSO MAY BE COMPLETED BY END OF MONTH. IN BOTH SUBCOMMITTEES, HOWEVER, THERE REMAINS PROBLEM OF YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES AND ON PERIODIC FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. LATTER PROPOSAL IS VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED BY EC-NINE, WHILE PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES IS OPPOSED BY NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS FROM BOTH EAST AND WEST. IN AN EFFORT TO FACILITATE A COMPROMISE SOLUTION, FRENCH INITIATED BILATERAL TALKS WITH YUGOSLAV DELEGATES, BUT THESE TALKS HAVE NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING THE IMPASSE.

6. MEDITERRANEAN-- IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION WORKING GROUP THE MALTESE COMBINED TO INSIST UNCOMPROMISINGLY ON THEIR PROPOSED NEW OPERATIVE PARA SUGGESTING SPECIAL MEDITERRANEAN-ARAB COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AND MUTUAL WITHDRAWAL OF US AND SOVIET FORCES FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN. IN FACE OF MOUNTING CSCE TIME PRESSURE, WHICH OBVIOUSLY INCREASES MALTA'S NEGOTIATING LEVERAGE, THE EC-NINE ARE BEGINNING TO CONSIDER A POSSIBLE, VERY LIMITED, COMPROMISE ATTEMPT. HOWEVER, THE NATO CAUCUS IS ALSO BEGINNING TO FACE THE

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QUESTION OF THE OPTIONS OPEN TO THE WEST IN THE RATHER LIKELY CASE THAT THE MALTESE PERSIST IN THEIR POSITION.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III-EC-NINE AGREED TO SOVIET COMPROMISE OFFER TO HAVE ONLY ONE SIGNATURE AT

END OF ALL CSCE TEXTS, AND BEGAN WORK ON A NEW DRAFT FINAL ACT BASED ON THIS FORMAL AND INCLUDING A DISCLAIMER CLAUSE ON THE NON-LEGAL NATURE OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS. SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT SUCH A DISCLAIMER. FACED WITH A RAPIDLY DIMINISHING PERIOD OF AVAILABLE TIME IF STAGE III IS CONVENED THIS SUMMER, SWISS SECRETARIAT ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD REQUIRE THREE WEEKS BETWEEN STAGES FOR PRINTING OF FINAL DOCUMENTS.

8. FOLLOW-UP--THE EC-NINE, WITH NATO CAUCUS AGREEMENT, PRESENTED A REDRAFT OF THE DANISH TEXT, REFLECTING MINOR CONCESSIONS AGREED TO BY THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS, TO THE NEUTRALS, ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA ON JUNE 19. THE REACTION WAS CLEALY UNENTHUSIASTIC, MAINLY BECAUSE THE REDRAFT FAILED TO MAKE VERY SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS ON CONTINUITY. THE NEGOTIATING PACE MAY NEVERTHELESS INCREASE MARKEDLY NEXT WEEK, AS A NEW INFORMAL WORKING GROUP UNDER SWEDISH CHAIRMANSHIP GETS UNDER WAY.

9. COMMENT: WITH THE BREZHNEV LETTER TO WESTERN LEADERS PROPOSING JULY 22 AS THE OPENING DATE FOR STAGE III, THE SWedes PUT THE CONFERENCE ON NOTICE THAT A DECISION WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK IF A STAGE III SUMMIT IS TO BE HELD IN JULY. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW UNDERSTOOD THE VARIOUS PREREQUISITES FOR SUCH A DECISION: ACCEPTABLE PARAMETERS FOR A MANEUVER CBM, AND AGREED QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS SAVING CLAUSE, AND A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE FOLLOW-UP ISSUE. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY OTHER PENDING ISSUES, AND CERTAIN MAVERICK STATES (E.G. YUGOSLAVIA,ROMANIA,MALTA,TURKEY) MAY WELL WITHHOLD AGREEMENT TO A STAGE III DATE EVEN IF THERE IS A STRONG TENDENCY BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK TO PIN DOWN A TARGET DATE AT THE END OF JULY. NEVERTHELESS, UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THE FINNS AND ALL OTHER GOVERNMENTS COULD BEGIN NECESSARY PLANNING, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE HOLD-OUTS WILL LIFT THEIR RESERVATIONS WHEN SOLUTIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE FOUND FOR THEIR SPECIAL PROBLEMS. WITH THIS OBJECTIVE IN MIND, DELEGATIONS OF ALL POLITICAL COLORATIONS PRESSED FOR SOLUTIONS TO THE MAIN ISSUES, AND THE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLVING THEM IN A SATISFACTORY WAY BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK ARE NOW MUCH BRIGHTER THAN THEY WERE A FEW DAYS AGO. IT IS NOW GENERALLY EXPECTED THAT THE EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL TAKE A POSITION ON TIMING AT THEIR MEETING ON JUNE 24, AND THAT THIS WILL LEAD TO AN EMERGING CONSENSUS ON TIMING AT THE MEETING OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE JUNE 26, OR AT A SPECIAL MEETING WHICH COULD BE CONVENED FOR THIS PURPOSE ON JUNE 30. ALL OF THIS ASSUMES THAT SOLUTIONS WILL BE

FOUND TO THE PRINCIPAL REMAINING ISSUES WITHIN THE NEXT
FEW DAYS. BUT INDICATIONS HERE ARE THAT THE TIME IS
RIPE FOR DECISIVE MOVEMENT OF THIS KIND END COMMENT. DALE

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Message Attributes

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